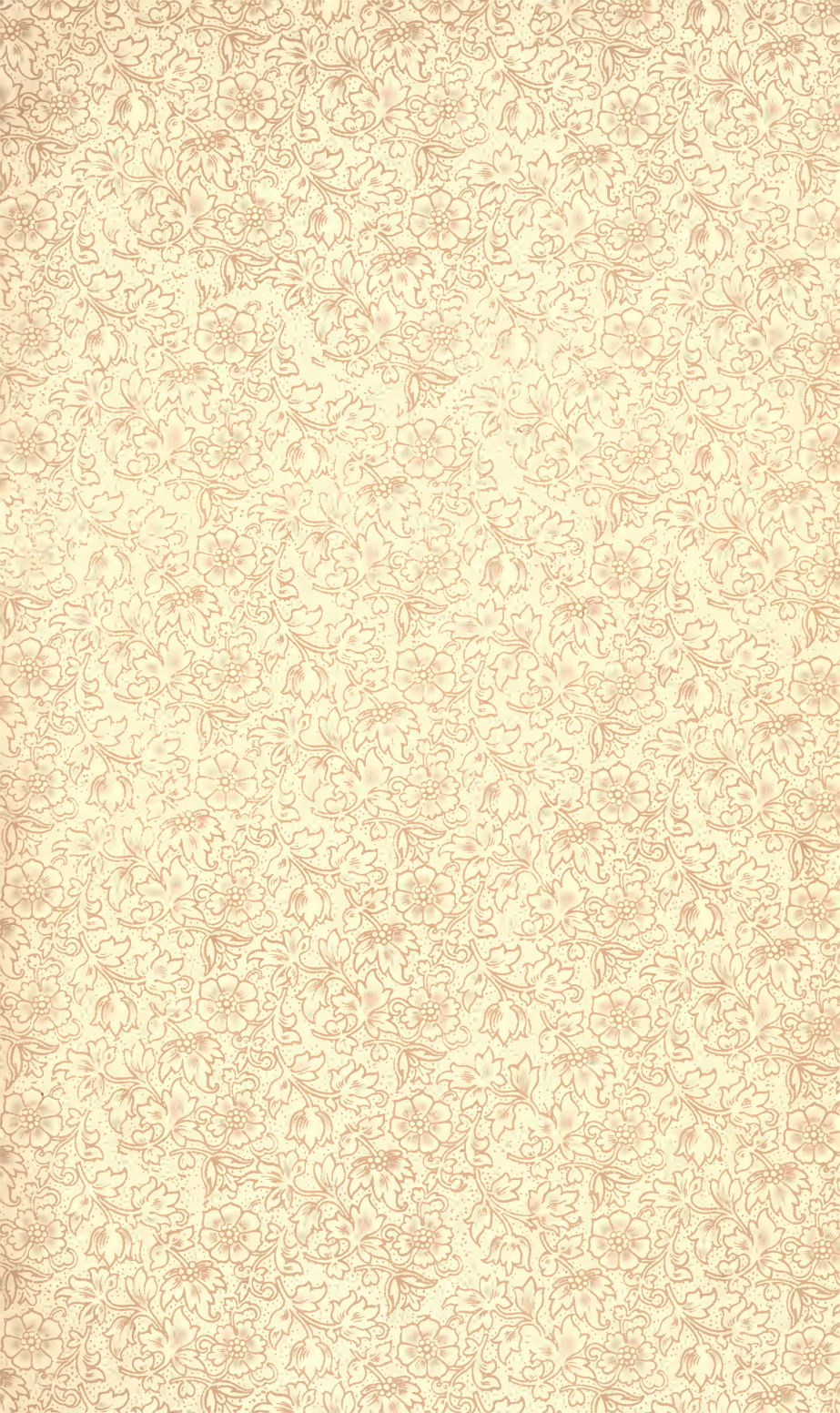


THE ROBERT E. COWAN COLLECTION
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ORATION

DELIVERED IN THE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA,

JULY 4, 1857.

BY CHARLES EDWARD PICKETT.

My theme is of freedom and slavery—freedom for those who deserve to be free—slavery to those fit only for slaves.

Men are unequal and dissimilar; so made, like all else organic, by the natural laws producing and governing them, and wisely destined by these immutable laws ever to occupy different relations towards each other; for Nature abhors equality as she does a vacuum.

C. E. PICKETT.

Men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

JESUS CHRIST.

It is impossible to make people understand their ignorance, for it requires knowledge to perceive it; and therefore he that can perceive it, hath it not.

BISHOP TAYLOR.



SAN FRANCISCO:

WHITTON, TOWNE & CO'S EXCELSIOR STEAM PRESSES,

151 Clay Street, below Montgomery.

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MAIN



ORATION.

* TIME PASSES. Another annual return of the birth-day of the Anglo American Republic is at hand. For what purpose have we assembled?

On this commemorating occasion it has hitherto been the practice of orators to devote themselves in speaking of the heroic virtues and sublime patriotism—of the trials and sufferings of the fathers and founders of the confederacy—in giving a historical synopsis of our rise and progress as a people; and then soaring on the wings of exuberant pride and boastful fancy, to paint a grand and magnificent future for the great “Ocean bound Republic”—to which circumscribed realm, the idea has lately been started, of annexing all adjacent islands—the Hawaiian group included.

Patterning not often such useless stereotyped addresses, nor following the wake of any these dreaming sketchers of the future—permit me to talk of things as they are and will be, not as in hope and imagination we would have them.

Human nature is so fashioned as to resent the utterance of unpalatable truths, even where the listener is fully conscious that none but facts are stated; much more offense then, may my discourse this day

give rise to, when in addition to unpopular truth, comprehensible by most, a sense of duty impels me to express that, which few may now believe is truth at all. Much of that revolutionary sentiment to which this day I give expression, finds a warrant in the great State paper just read, as well as to be met with in other writings of its illustrious author. But let me not anticipate your judgments. When finished all which I have got to say, you may esteem my good outweighs the bad, and thus but little wrath be left to fall upon my head.

In this omni-reading and book-surfeited age, it would seem superfluous to tell anew of the "times which tried the souls of men." And I shall not thus occupy your attention. Let me however say to the student in history, that though he may read all the authors who ever wrote, during and since, about our revolutionary struggle, save one—and that one be the church anathematized resplendent genius—the noble minded, unselfish, humanitarian, statesman, philosopher, poet and man of science, who first used the memorable and oft-repeated quotation I have made—then is he comparatively ignorant of the most intensely interesting page in American history; since a perusal of the productions from the pen of him, who did as much, or rather more, for the great cause of freedom, than the sword of Washington—is indispensibly requisite to carry the mind back to that eventful period, and conjure up to his thinking faculties and heart's feelings, the very body and spirit of the age.

As in our wide-extended domain, there are found all descriptions of scenery, every character of soil, climate and productions, as well as specimens of the various races and mixtures of the human kind—so has our prolific land given birth to innumerable shades of opinions, and vast varieties of parties, faiths, creeds, philosophies, abstract theories and crude, ill-digested and erroneous ideas about forms of government and the rights of man.

To partially expose the fallacious promises and unsound arguments entertained by many with reference to these latter questions, is the task I have chosen to perform this day. It is peculiarly appropriate. I have only to regret my inability to handle it as its importance demands. What I shall now say, is but the advance of certain propositions, which at a future time, will, with a variety of cognate questions, be more fully elucidated.

Nations, like men on earth, are born—go through all the various stages of life, and then no more. This law is as immutable as the one

which decrees that man shall live and die. Each are short or long-lived, according to the vital energy that's in them, their healthful development and conformity to the laws of nature.

Like the individual man, every new government or nationality, has to pass through its period of youthful follies and errors, and learn wisdom only by experience. Take for example our own country. It was birthed full formed, in an enlightened age, had the purest and wisest of preceptors, the most loving and solicitous god-fathers. These taught us our duty, told us of the dangers and temptations that would beset our onward career, warned us of the difficulties that were to be encountered, and pointed out where such difficulties and dangers lay, and how to avoid them. They cited us to the pages of history, where for ourselves, we could read the fate of those which had existed before—how their sins and departure from the path of principle, had brought in time their inevitable trains of evil and affliction. Yet all this good advice avails us but little; we too in infancy must put our finger in the candle, and in youth sow our wild oats, and derange the system by irregular habits, dissipation, debauch and extravagance. Let us beware though, lest we become afflicted in our spring time of life, with a lasting and incurable chronic disease, which shall bring on premature old age and shorter existence.

This is eminently a fast era, and especially so with the American people. A utilitarian spirit, a gross materialism pervades all classes of our society. Progress, most speedy progress are we making in the acquisition of wealth, development of the resources of the country, and discoveries of new arts and inventions; but at the same time retrograded with like ratio in other more vital interests. From the lips of the vast mass of our population—the short-sighted, unthinking multitude, we constantly hear the boast about such accelerated physical advancement. These will exultantly tell that everything goes now-days by steam and lightning—that the arts, sciences and manufactures are being more rapidly developed at this period than even before in the world's history. They will tell you of the astonishing growth of our Republic, in so short a time—of its expansiveness in territory and increase in population, wealth and luxury. But my friends, has it not occurred to you sometimes that we have travelled too fast in these things for our own good—that a certain mathematical proposition is applicable to this accelerated progressiveness, which would prove, that what we've made in time we've lost in weight. Not such weight as can be hefted in your money scales, nor measured and worked out by

dollars and cents, figures and statistics ; but tested by the amount of virtue and correct principles in the land ; and also that quantum of sound philosophy, which teaches a people how best to acquire happiness in this world, and attain fitness for enjoying a blissful future. It is some consolation however to know that this increased momentum will carry us all the sooner to the end of our reckless Jehu ride, when a crash up and overturning of our falsely-sustained society and erroneous form of government, which latter gives encouragement and impetus to this wholly absorbing, selfish pursuit of gain—will be the happy result.

A thirst for gold, the money-making mania of the day, and its accompanying luxurious and animal indulgence, is fast poisoning the life-blood of the Republic, as at present organized. Its early downfall, or rather change of system, it were wisdom to hasten. For all other distinctions in society being abolished, and there existing in man an innate and proper desire to rise superior to his fellows—he sees in the acquisition of riches, the only road to a higher and more influential position. And since with rare exceptions those who amass fortunes in our land, are of the most vulgar, coarse-blooded, uneducated, avaricious and depraved orders, and this wealth giving such power, its owners, whether acting with or against the pauper rabble—demoralize and degrade society, destroy the virtue of the whole community, and aid in overturning the best institutions of the State.

As evidence of such deleterious influence, permit me to partially draw aside the curtain from the picture of our own State, which the *particeps criminis* and their fool dupes, among us, strive so hard to keep down in order to prevent the outside world looking upon so deformed and horrid a front, compared with which, the countenance of the veiled prophet of Kohrasan was attractive and loveable.

Our newspaper men, as also other superficial observers, self satisfied individuals and mercenary demagogue flatterers of the people—are always boasting about the vast amount of talent, intelligence and enterprise in California. In what I would ask does this superior talent consist ? Where its manifestations ? If measured by the tests of wisdom in other lands, the reverse is most true. That there is little among us of what may be termed witlessness and stupidity, is readily admitted, and likewise none deny, but there is very much of physical energy, and great activity of mind in regard to money-getting—even in this, however, there is little exhibit of true wisdom, or else why is it, that in a country of such vast resources for wealth, nearly

everybody is bankrupt—and a majority, in our cities at least, without a picayune in pocket. Must we look for an indication of this intelligence in the patronage and pursuit of science, philosophy and polite literature? With the exception of most few, the native Digger tribes foster and encourage letters and development of the higher elements of thought and learning, as much as do our “enlightened” Anglo Americans and others, from countries boasting of civilization and christianity. But shall we seek for this general intelligence in the excellency of our governmental affairs—in a model code of laws, which delights our citizens to live so happily under, by reason of the lightness of the burthens imposed, and their equality of action? Come, braggarts of California intelligence, what have you to say under this heading? Here is the true field for displaying the wisdom of a self-governing people, whose political institutions are, in theory, based upon the virtue and intelligence of the masses. Yet what exhibit in this do we make? what is our condition? why, the worst governed people in christendom. Our laws are a jumbled mass of contradictions. Dishonest special legislation, and stultifying decisions in the Courts, have all along been the order of the day—whilst from the start of our prematurely born State government, gross venality and consummate ignorance have striven in all its branches to outvie each other. This in most of the City and County governments, as well as State. That the truth is here misstated not, let the condition of the country speak. Let the fruit attest the character of the tree.

And wherefore do the people so long suffer this? I answer again, because they are too ignorant to see how to right matters, and therefore grown, some so vicious and degraded as to prefer such a state of affairs; others listless, and for a time inert and submissive. It certainly is not the wish nor interest of a vast majority to live on thus; but lacking that boasted intelligence, in order to rectify, through regular modes, the wrongs under which they groan, they seem to be growing reckless and indifferent to their condition and future fate. The next move, and we are not greatly off, will be to surrender up all attempt at self-rule, and call for a dictatorship, or else rebel against the whole existing order of things—effect a complete revolution—banish or hang, if found necessary, the present host of Catiline conspirators in the State, and organize anew, on a widely different constitutional basis.

Look in upon the members of our various Legislatures, and see how little real intellect is to be found among them. They are mostly young men, vain of their position, because above anything such a class should

have been suffered aspire to, but profoundly ignorant of the high and responsible duties attached to it. Animal in nature, sensual, dissipated, with gross feelings and perverted tastes, and the large majority prostituted to become the venal and pliant tools of arch-scheming villains—what of loftiness of thought, soundness in judgment, and patriotic promptings, could be looked for in such an assemblage? What wholesomeness in laws, and investigations into that most abstruse and grandest of all sciences—governmental—could be expected to flow from such a source? Here and there, amid these sarcastically termed Solons, were to be seen men of a different stamp—a few, who, sober in habit, of superior judgment, and contemplative turn of mind, essayed to have affairs conducted differently. Even these, however, lacked nerve and boldness, if having sense sufficient, to stand up manfully enough, in defence of the right, and in opposition to the wrong. But what else could be looked for in a land, where nearly everybody came for, and are all the time anxiously engaged seeking after money.

Wisdom and genius are the offspring, not alone of intellectual culture, but cometh also of the heart. To be truly wise, one must be good. Truth is often visible to the man of mediocre talent, where purity dwells within his bosom, and conscience dictates all his acts, while invisible to him of higher mental attainments, but impure in sentiment. In California the great mass of men, and I may add, women also, are inordinately selfish. To get money quickly and spend it lavishly, in the gratification of their grosser appetites and misdirected fancies, is the absorbing thought and pursuit of most all. Whilst this state of things lasts, we may look in vain for anything noble or generous among such.

The greed of gain ever dries up or shoves out from the human breast all the purer, lovelier emotions of the heart—all that's unselfish, refined, gentle and impulsive—it leaves man soulless. The shape, the physical frame, may be left, but the spirit is changed to something else than nature's higher attributes intended it. The individual man, gregarious and aggregated, makes up the body politic. The same laws, which govern them separately, operate upon the mass. If there be not any private virtue, then there can be no such thing as public virtue; and without the latter no government, and above all others a Republican, can exist. For society cannot cohere without virtue; and society must exist in order to establish government. Government in California has proved a failure, because it lacked this vital and essential essence of virtue. But not alone in California do we witness

this prostration of moral sentiment, and rapid tendency to a subversion of the present form of government. In most other parts of the Union the same causes are operating to a greater or less extent, and like effects will ere long result.

Our fathers fought against an external foe, against oppression and injustice, whose seat of power rested in another land. They rose in arms likewise, not in order to right any very grievous wrongs, under which they actually suffered, but in defense of a principle, and also because they thought themselves old enough, rich enough, and fully capacitated, in every particular, to set up a household for themselves. They threw off a foreign yoke, that was but the weight of a feather, compared with the domestic despotism, which, owing to a variety of causes, we, their descendants, have self-imposed upon our necks. Talk of liberty in this land ! It is false to so term it ! The thing is spurious !—a base cheat !—it is a bastard ! or if born legitimately, has, through erroneous education, licentious indulgence, and imbibation of every species of wrong sentiment, become disfigured in face, deformed in shape, in mind diseased, and morals depraved !

But more than aught else, the rapid declension of our people from all that truly elevates them in the scale of humanity, that gives nobility to the soul and dignity to man, which teaches him to look aloft, and aspire to higher aims, lies in the mistaken character of our government. It seems beautiful in theory, but in practice is bad. It was established on the supposition of a high and increasing state of intelligence and virtue among the whole community, which sort of basis, books give no account has ever yet existed on this globe ; and judging from the slow progress human nature makes in perfecting itself, I do not perceive, that any such bright millennium sort of period will arrive for innumerable ages to come.

Besides, the popular idea entertained, that a people living under a Democratic order of government, where each person has an equal voice in public affairs—the same right to vote and hold office—and consequently having such weighty obligations resting on him, as would tend to better educate one in his rights, make him more jealous of his liberty—cause him to exercise greater particularity about placing none but the best citizens in posts of trust and honor, and thus in its workings render each successive generation, more and more enlightened, virtuous and patriotic—is found out already by our own experience, (and history informed us of it before) to be most fallacious. On the contrary, the practical effect is the very reverse—thus rendering us

year by year less fitted for such self rule, by reason of its degenerating society and deteriorating the race.

I do not so much call in question the wisdom of those who framed and put in motion this government, for we have in practice departed widely from its original intent. Whilst a palpable violation and transcending of the letter in some instances, and latitudinarian construction in others, of the special power of attorney under which the States' agent acts, has been tending to break down all the checks, barriers and guarantees erected against the passions, selfishness, despotic proclivities, and sectional preponderance and dictation, of an absolute majority,—nearly the whole of the States have most unwisely, by gradually giving way to popular clamor, and party demagoguery, and race for office, divested their Constitutions of every conservative safeguard, and surrendered all power into the hands of a fickle, suicidal, free suffrage populace. Other peoples, in ancient as well as modern times, have experimented with this kind of government, but it speedily proved a failure; and the more terrible its end, the longer it was persisted in being upheld. The sooner we retrace our steps, and retrieve our former position, or in fact go back beyond it, the better.

I hope none will misunderstand my premises, since then they will better appreciate the truth of the deductions arrived at. I question not the natural virtuous inclinations of the majority, nor their anxious desire to have public affairs managed for the best, because it is their interest such should be so done; but what I do say is, that few in any land comprehend the first rudiments in the science of government, and that these few, under the practical operation of our system at the present day, are the very men upon whom the majority will refuse to bestow office, unless such shall smother their honest convictions, stoop from their proud manhood, and pander to the false opinions and prejudices of those whose suffrage they may seek. This state of affairs arises from the fact, that no legislation can be wholesome, nor a government stable and able to protect all the various interests of its citizens, unless those who have the conduction of affairs shall possess wisdom, sagacity and firmness sufficient to look far ahead, and frame such laws and originate a policy—though these are unpopular at the time—as shall be best hereafter, as well as now. But the short sighted and unknowing masses, not perceiving the beneficial results which are in time to flow therefrom, and having their prejudices operated upon by demagogues and others, whose vision, like that of the multitude is circumscribed, and minds led astray by the specious and plausible,—ig-

nore the men and measures they should sustain, and bestow confidence upon and adopt those only, which shortly bring disastrous results.

The great body of a people think and care little for posterity, and yet the happiest, even in their own day—apart from the duty we owe to our descendants, are those who so order and conduct affairs as shall best benefit future generations. The mass see not the evil until it is upon them, because hearkening not to, nor following the advice of those who, perceiving such coming, point out the way to avert it. And this lack of foresight in the community, ever has and always will exist. To know the present and future, one must know the past. Yet how few among the multitude read history, and among that few, how rarely is one found who has learned any wisdom from his studies.

Whilst nearly all philosophers, historians and statesmen, agree that a free democratic form of government is the worst ever instituted, and which has always proved itself so, by quickly coming to an end,—the question never yet has been settled what order is best for man to live under. No one system, however, can be adapted to all ; since the variety of race, its spirit and genius, state of civilization, age of the nation, area of territory and geographical position, must all have a bearing in shaping the character most suitable to each. That something approximating to the admirably checked and balanced Roman Republic, during the palmiest era of that lordly, world-conquering race, would best apply to us Americans,—at least the slaveholding portion—is my strong conviction. At the same time, I must express my exalted admiration for that, from whence came the most of our forefathers, and which in fact much resembles the old Roman Republic. For take it all in all, perfections and imperfections, (and no form can be void of many wrongs, errors and abuses,) I hesitate not to declare, that the best government on the globe at this day, is that of the English—at least it is most suitable to the genius of our Teutonic-British race.

That we shall early adopt a different plan, after first passing through that invariable and necessary chaotic state, and revolutionary period,—which tribulatory, enlightening and purifying ordeal, will be more or less severe and long continued, according to the fragmented part of the Union in which it occurs,—is as certain as the coming of the morrow. Two causes will bring about this effect : One, the inevitably approaching and not far distant revolution, which is to dethrone the many headed tyrant,—the other, and earliest, the breaking up of the federal compact.

If all history, ancient and modern, had not proved the fact, that an autocracy, or absolute rule of the one man power, was a far superior order of government to that of the absolute rule of the many in a democratic form,—the blighting, tainting, soul-destroying despotism of the populace in our own boasted land of freedom, is rapidly now giving, and promising future proof of its tenfold worse sway. The reign of Nero was mild and merciful compared with the horrid tyranny and appalling “reign of terror,” under the free Democracy of France, towards the close of the last century. In Russia there is far more wholesome freedom in many particulars, and much better protection and encouragement given to arts, sciences, and the higher order of learning at this day, than in the United States, and soon Russia will, in every particular, be a freer and preferable government to live under than ours must ere long be, unless we change its shape.

Provided a sovereign be wise and virtuous, an absolute monarchy is, as history attests, the best government for a people ever instituted. Where a ruler of contrary character ascends the throne, it is then the worst,—barring and excepting the unchecked, ignorant, brutal rule of the major mob, in that unnatural condition of things where it is declared all men are sovereigns, have equal privileges, and stand on a perfect equality.

Another superiority of the *unus* over the *multus-homo* power, is the easier and more speedy method of getting rid of the tyranny of the former. For when the cruelty and oppression of such, become too grievous to be longer borne, the stiletto, or poison, quickly despatches the cause, or some sudden and short-lived revolution dethrones and beheads the man, or forces flight from the realm. And then, without changing the form of government, a wise and virtuous successor is chosen, or permitted hereditarily to claim and ascend the throne,—the more especially this sort of one,—the severer the burdens imposed by the bad sovereign. Thus Rome, even in her degenerate and declining years, alternated between good and bad Emperors.

One reason why so many kings and autocrats have proved tyrants, oppressing their subjects with bad laws, onerous liabilities, and curbing their liberty of speech whenever any dared complain of exactions, and which state of affairs at length created a rebellion, that cost the sovereign his life, is because of that flattery, deception and intrigue, which ever surrounds and appeals to the source of power and patronage, and which source at length becoming corrupted, judgment perverted and ears closed to all sensible advice and virtuous appeals, renders it dan-

gerous for any one having the good of the State at heart, and wise enough to see the errors of the governing power, to speak or write about such, much less approach the presence and thus address the wayward, befooled and perchance bloody despot. So in a free democracy, where the majority has unlimited sway,—for flattered, cajoled, and deceived in every way, by office seeking demagogues, panderers, pimps, parvenues and public plunderers,—their worse faults emblazoned as the loftiest virtues; every false and crude notion, endorsed as the perfection of wisdom, and such proclaimed to the world as incontestible evidence of the high intelligence and virtue of the mass of the people, and proving their admirable fitness for self rule,—the time at length arrives when no man dares speak boldly the words of truth and soberness to these multitudinous tyrants. If for a period, life be not endangered, the honorable ambition, and all hope of being elevated to official position, has to be abandoned; ardor is deadened, and all incentive and efforts to serve one's country with voice and pen, in a private station, withdrawn, because of so few being willing to listen. Instead of this, should one—urged on by a devoted love of truth and unavoidable solicitude for the well being of his fellow man, continue to defend the right, he is hissed and sneered at by the selfish, time-serving politicians, and hungry place seekers, together with their sycophantic, subsidized scribes and newspaper editors, who are aided and abetted by most of the phariseeical priesthood—a mercenary, cold-hearted, cold-blooded band of stipendiaries and tithe gatherers; who, in all ages and countries, are the upholders and evil advisers of the powers that be,—provided that power upholds them.

Around the throne of princes, hang those lords spiritual, who always manage to be the power behind it, in oppressing a people, destroying all freedom of person and conscience, instituting inquisitions and decreeing wholesale massacres of those who may dare question their dogmas and infallibility, or profess a religious faith different from what these, impiously claiming to be Heaven's vicegerents on earth, shall, in their own pride and presumption, proclaim to be the true and established one. But let the throne, which these very men mainly aid in undermining, by reason of their bad advice and infernal despotism, be seen tottering, and soon we find such sacredotal gentry allying themselves with the mob, and urging it on to do the same outrageous wrongs and bloody deeds. As eminent and well known examples of this latter, witness the death-drugging of Socrates, banishment of Aristides, and crucifixion of Christ.

Like Socrates, Jesus Christ was a great and good philosopher and reformer. Deeply imbued with the pure spirit of nature—to the harmony of which his own was sweetly attuned; possessing a heart undefiled with sin, and hating vice instinctively, and adoring virtue in all its forms and phases, he became, from living among so corrupt a people, and obeying that law which causes extremes to beget extremes, an enthusiast in defense of truth. Fearless of consequences, he assailed the impure, power-loving priesthood, and forfeited his life for such temerity. For the rabble, artfully instigated and pushed on to violence by these cunning, bloody-minded churchmen, and pandering, mercenary writers, preferred releasing a robber, that they might get rid of the much feared and hated innovator Jesus; in whom the Governors of enlightened, tolerant and “*heathen*”(?) Rome, could find no guile, nor see aught worthy of punishment. But I’m wandering. Let us now turn to that other great and momentous question—a disruption of the confederacy.

The Southern Colonies, especially Virginia, were always pets of the British crown, and had little cause of complaint against the mother country on their own account. Sympathy with the Colonies north, and resentment for *their* mistreatment, chiefly aroused the passions and patriotic fire of the former, and induced them to enter so promptly and vigorously into the Revolutionary contest. The North called upon the South for help, and the South at once generously and unselfishly gave it. For the cause, she furnished a galaxy of statesmen, orators and heroes,—of what character and calibre, let history tell. There were giants in those days, and such were of that race.

But where now is that fraternal attachment; those ties of love and mutual dependence, which made, and alone have held the Union together?—a union that was baptised in and consecrated by the martyr blood of so many of that noble band of sires! Examine your own hearts, ye who listen here to-day, and answer the question. Contrast the sentiments in your own bosoms,—you who on this anniversary twenty years since, or even half that time, felt such emotional thrills pass through your frame, whose blood coursed so swiftly along the veins and generous pride swelled up from the inner fount of feeling, at the booming sound of cannon—on seeing the broad folds of the star flag unfurled, and listening to the fervid flow of eloquence that fell from the lips of orators, whose impulsive love and patriotism—like your own—were then co-extensive with the boundaries of the Republic!

They are gone—forever fled ! Dead in you is that ancient spirit ; extinguished the holy fire, which burnt in a common temple. For a time, a few glimmering sparks may arise from the expiring embers, but soon the hearthstone will be cold. What though you may get up processions, fire salutes, ring bells, waive the national bannered ensign, and engage frothy, declamatory orators to talk over and over again about the acts and shades of forefathers, and brag about the bigness of the country, and of the smartness and puissant mightiness of its destructive, Young America rulers—it will all unavailing prove. These demonstrations are now but hollow-hearted—worse than the Pharisee's prayer. Self-glorification, and to have a holiday jollification, is the chief—if not sole incentive to observe the day. The great heart of our people has become sectionalized, and soon the territory and government must be bi-sected in order to conform thereto.

The uniting of the northern and southern sections was, at the start, a great mistake. The alliance is an unholy one, because contrary to nature. She forbade the bans, but amid the general joy and jubilant congratulations consequent upon achieving their independence, and kindly regards enkindled by a common cause and suffering, the two people were blinded to the fact of their wide dissimilarity in so many particulars, radical objections in bringing themselves under the same government, and necessity, that would arise at no distant day, compelling them to effect a divorce. As well expect to mix oil and water, or bring in juxtaposition opposite poles of magnetic needles, as attempt farther, to amalgamate the repellant, antithetical elements north and south—which year by year grow more dissimilar and divergent—and harmoniously blend and consolidate them under one government. A Czardom might hold together these fundamentally antagonistic schools, but not a Republic. The sooner therefore a separation of the three great divisions takes place, the better ultimately for all—but especially is this action of immediate vital importance to the Negro slave-holding States :—and then for a generous rivalry, to test the wisdom of each in framing the best form of government, as adapted to the peculiar condition and characteristics of their respective citizens.

Washington early saw this widely variant sentiment between the people of the northern and southern States ; and we have every reason to believe, died regretting his participation in bringing about their union. That he was fully conscious of the discordant materials thus cemented, and feared an early severing of the pieces, is made clearly manifest in his farewell address, wherein he warned the citizens of the

Republic against forming parties on geographical limits—prophecy most correctly, that whenever such event came to pass, they must inevitably dissolve their connection soon after. The day has arrived, that witnesses in part, the fruition of the fears of our *pater patriæ*. But two wiser than Washington—those mighty intellects, the great Jefferson and Calhoun, who laid down the only plan, by which the boundaries of the confederacy could be indefinitely extended with safety, and any number of States held together under one federal compact—died also, it is well known, in the full belief that the days of the Republic were numbered, and would shortly after their time, cease to exist as a unit.

It is useless for man to war against nature. Apart from other considerations, we are so situated geographically in this Pacific Division, as to enforce an early separation from the Eastern portion of the Republic. Not only does a great mountain barrier and vast stretch of intervening desert divide us; but our interests also, conflict and estrange. Our backs are turned towards one another. Each has a great ocean bounding its shores, across which the inhabitants of one look East, the other West. One is wound up in interest and constant intercourse with Europe—the other seeks to form a similar alliance, and monopolise the commerce of Asia.

But more than this, our political connection and dependence is ruining us. It tends to destroy that individuality of independence, self-reliance and manly pride, so necessary to energise a people, develop the resources of their country and form and uphold a good government. We must be self-sustaining in arts, science, literature, commerce, manufactures and agriculture;—and this cannot fully be, so long as we remain an integral part of the present government. Our condition is much like that of the American colonies at the time of their separation from the mother country. In proof of our utter subserviency and its corrupting, blighting, enslaving influence, witness the present political condition of California, which chiefly owes its debasement, to our Eastern connection.

What is this country but a sort of satrapy, ruled by the Executive at Washington through his two lords lieutenants, the Senators; who purchase their election by means of the federal patronage they promise in the name of their master at the white house. We are not a sovereign State, but a mere dependancy—a kind of foreign conquered province, governed by a species of duumvirate proconsulship. Let us cut loose at an early day and commence that, which sooner or later, must be done—solving the great problem of what order of independ-

ent government will be best for us to live under here. That it must be one widely differing from the present, is daily becoming more and more apparent.

According to the *theory* of our government, all are on a political and legal level, where each person is free to rise to eminence, and eligible and chosen to fill the posts of honor, trust and profit, according to his superior virtue, learning, and sound views of law and the rights and best interests of his fellow-citizens—and likewise occupy that sphere in the social relations of society, to which one's refinement of manners, honorable bearing and intelligence entitles. This looks fair enough in principle, but how works it in practice under our experimental self-rule? Why, just the reverse in most parts of the Union at this degenerate period; but worse in our vicious and degraded State, than any other—where the poet Byron's definition of a Democratic form of government, is clearly shown to be most graphically correct—"an aristocracy of blackguards."

Let me hold you up another portrait I have painted from life, of this mongrel, agglomerated herd of humanity, drawn within the vortex of our great golden Maelstrom, and all pronely delving or supinely craving, as if for life, after the yellow sands of our Pactolian streams. Unlike most artists, I do not flatter any in my paintings, but pride myself in the correctness of the likeness, which most of you will doubtless recognise in this instance.

The fool many, rule the sensible few, instead of the few the many; and ruin and oppress themselves as well as the helpless minority;—because few there be in any land, who can comprehend the first principles in the science of government, or know how to choose for office those who do.

The Constitution of the State has been repudiated and set aside, and the doctrine boldly proclaimed, that legislative enactments and a popular vote of the people at any time is of paramount supremacy.

Neither property nor life is protected or secure. Capital is forsaking the land, because of the onerous and unequal taxation levied on it, and the unsafety of investing it here. Everything is in doubt and turmoil. People have become gloomy, despondent and reckless, and worse yet the condition of affairs must be, before a brighter day shall dawn upon us.

Some of the oldest and best citizens of the State are leaving it for good, and thousands more of the most valuable part of the population would gladly abandon us, could they get away.

Citizens of other States are chosen to fill most all the public posts, rather than the *bona fide* residents of this.

Men without property and who never pay a dollar's tax, make all the laws to govern property and assess taxation. And taxation without proportionate representation, is held and acknowledged, in all countries possessing a shadow of freedom, to be just cause for revolution.

Wisdom, honesty, independence and peculiar fitness are insuperable bars to a man's preferment—ignorance, gross venality, and incompetency, practically the highest and most popular qualifications for office, as well as entitling one to occupy that most responsible place, the editorial tripod.

The elective franchise is a farce—men openly sell their votes and even boast of it, whilst almost every public post throughout the land is bought and sold.

Principles are abandoned, and men without principles substituted.

Confidence between man and man is destroyed.

The line between *meum* and *tuum* almost obliterated.

Virtue is at a discount, vice a premium.

Self and pelf reign supreme—money being the sole measure of merit, and with most rare exceptions, alone buys friendship of man or love from woman.

The strata of society have been upheaved and reversed—the top is at the bottom, the bottom at the top—the pyramid stands on its apex.

The vulgar and unrefined shove aside the polished and refined, and take their places.

The vicious lord it over the virtuous, instead of the virtuous having precedence of the vicious.

The drunkard is preferred to the man of sobriety.

The little outtop the big.

Plebeians outrank patricians.

Muscle is superior to mind.

Knowledge no longer gives power, except the knowledge of demagogue arts, and a proficiency in that low cunning which rules the rabble.

Youth and inexperience have taken the reins of government out of the hands of age and experience.

Boys and girls hector and direct their elders, instead of the latter ordering and controlling the verdant youngsters.

The advice and teachings of the wise and good are rejected, and the ignorant and bad exalted and obeyed.

Heaven is unthought of—earth and earthly objects, the highest wishes and sole existence cared for.

Thus the whole of nature is reversed, and everything runs counter to her laws. Consequent upon all this, disorder reigns instead of order,—evil usurps the place of good—God is dethroned and the devil enthroned!

And not alone in our country and continent has this modern American Democracy and “Yankee enterprise and speculation,” been productive of infinite evil, but tended to corrupt the whole world. It has reacted most injuriously in Europe; but that continent revenges itself on us by transshipment to our shores, of an element, which, owing to mistaken policy, has been too largely increased, and clothed with too great political power for our good, and thus by a seeming providential vindication, is made one of the chief instruments for destroying all genuine, independent Americanism, and overturning the government.

We have admitted a wooden horse within our Trojan walls. Like the Pretorian band of the Roman Emperors, or Janissary Guards of the Turkish Sultans, the Irish legions which sustain the dominant party in our Republic—made conscious of their power—have grown insolent, turbulent and dictatorial. If not demanding all the offices for those in their own ranks, this *imperium in imperio*, these transplanted Celtic clans, declare who shall and who shall not be promoted. While none belonging to the Democratic party can have the least hope for preferment, without first humiliating themselves at the feet of these foreign subsidiary forces, which have been quartered in our midst to conquer us—the opposing faction leaders, and ardent, selfish office-seekers of other faiths, have likewise paid court to them through hypocritical arts, in order to obtain their support; which, though but little successful, resulted in causing these mercenary and priestly swayed allies, to make new demands and conditions with the party to which they were attached, for remaining faithful.

Many advocate a modification of the Naturalization Laws. I demand, what will ere long be done, *an unqualified, absolute, total repeal of them!*

And now to treat of another deeply important and exciting question, on which—since I denounce no man nor section, but only the principle, for holding adverse sentiments, I claim the privilege of freely speaking my sincere convictions.

A dissolution of the American Confederacy will soon thereafter bring to a culminating point, two equally false opinions, entertained by

so large a portion of the inhabitants of Europe and America—one the idea that a Republican government is best for a people, and can be long maintained on our largest liberty and leveling principle—the other, that the institution of slavery is wrong, and early to become extinct. The Northern section will soon find out how suicidal and hopeless will be the effort to keep up their present real liberty-destroying and demoralizing governmental form—will open their eyes, as thousands there already have, to its evil workings, and soon effect a change. While the South will more determinedly than ever sustain their slave relation; and the crusade against it ceasing, the area of this order of servitude will extend over not only most parts of America, but other portions of the globe.* That wild, false spirit of free Democracy—the absolute domination of a universal suffrage majority—a spurious article, where the rabble and dregs of society obtain the mastery, and rule and ruin the State—and the anti-slavery furor, arose about the same period. Together they will go down, and that event is not far distant. The natural laws governing society, will, if violated, vindicate themselves, by producing those unbearable evils, which false theories, practically carried out, always compel us to suffer, by way of penance for departure from correct principles.

To enter into an elaborate argument to prove that slavery is inherently right of itself—is a natural component part of the social and political elements of society, and not necessarily maintained by force, nor subject to climatic laws in demarking the boundaries of the institution, nor yet solely dependent on color even—is not my purpose to-day; although a question of vast magnitude in our land, viewed in various lights; for it is a fact demonstrable by history, as well as deduced from a philosophic study of man's nature and the science of political economy—that Republics, of all other forms of government, can alone be upheld where such system prevails.

In these opinions, I am swayed by no prejudice of Southern birth, rely not for sustainment upon Biblical authority, save in its historical character; but appeal to all history, point to the condition of man the world over at this day—adduce in evidence the testimony of the greatest living and dead philosophers and statesmen, and arrive at such views upon my own farther examination and deductions, based upon ethnological studies and knowledge of the character and condition

* Ten years since, I predicted that the fleets kept up on the Coast of Africa, for that worse than useless purpose, the suppression of the slave trade, would be withdrawn before twenty years had elapsed. I reiterate here the assertion for the balance of the time.

of the various species, and varieties of the same species of the genus homo, living upon this world, all which conclusively evidence to my mind, that the natural and proper relation of mankind, is that of the governing superior, and servitor inferior; in which condition, the greatest amount of happiness to each class, can be obtained, and the loftiest and most lasting elevation of the human race attained.

As german to this topic, I would express my opinion relative to an infamous and grovelling sentiment, to which our largest liberty, licentious freedom, false humanitarian notions, and sectional hate have given birth. It is the effort in certain quarters of the country, to raise the inferior orders or colored castes on a level with the white race, or rather sink the latter to the lower condition of the former. This doctrine too, seems to be rapidly spreading in most of the non-Negro slave States, since the election of the late Speaker of the House of Representatives—a gentleman who boldly advocated the equality and amalgamation of the races—doubtful in his own mind, which is the superior, and to eventually obliterate the other. A late decision in the Supreme Court of the United States, widely adverse to so debasing a conclusion, or the tendency to such result—so far from banishing any attempts to bring it about through practical action and experiment, will but accelerate it—or rather induce more marked and energetic efforts to achieve that which nature abhors, and against which she has placed her fiat.* In California this sentiment is being actively and tangibly increased of late, by a large party favoring the admission of the sworn testimony of the various dark skinned species of our heterogeneous population, in the Courts of Law. As a natural consequence, should this step be crowned with success; the next will be to place such on an equal political footing. This must naturally confer eligibility to and bring success in office holding; when of course Sambo, Chin Fo, Kamaho, Digger O, with mongrel crew of every hue, having equal power and influence in the State, will demand social equality; and then commences the Hon. Speaker Banks' era of good fellowship between the white and colored biped animals in our land, which is to work out the GREAT "absorption" problem.

Yes! ye women of Caucasian lineage; if not you, your daughter descendants must ere long consent to be enfolded as brides in an Ethiop's brawny embrace, and become the dams of a rising breed of tawny hybrids. Such must inevitably be the finale or attempted finale unless speedy check, through a wholesomer public opinion, be placed upon every and all the damnable ideas, intents and attempts of

*See note page 32.

these ignorant, vulgarian, ignoble advocates, for breaking down the barriers betwixt them, and intermingling all the various castes and types of mankind.

It is well known to every intelligent reader, that this hue and cry against the enslavement of *Africans*, had its origin in old England, and thence transplanted, for a purpose, into New England ; where, finding a more congenial soil still, this philanthropic humbug and cunningly seized upon leverage and weapon, by means of which the Round-heads and their motley allies hope and expect to subdue and rule the Cavalier forces and country—has taken deep root, and scattered its foul seeds, and spread its noxious growth throughout all the rest of those States, pretendedly loving, but most intensely hating Negroes.

And for what reason did England start this ball and sacrifice what she has to keep it rolling ? I will tell you. She has a two-fold purpose to accomplish—the disruption of our confederacy—the destruction of our Democratic Republican form of government. The first, because she is jealous of our rivalry and growing greatness—fears our strength and eclipsing her in the rank of nations, and likewise seeks to deprive the North of the vast commerce and carrying trade of the South. The latter, that the failure of our “experiment,” may early prove to her own citizen subjects the fallacy of popular rule, universal suffrage, etc., and thus quiet the rising spirit of disaffection and revolution, which at times, is heard muttering rather loudly down among the lower grades of her class society. If Britain be wise, she will neither go to war with us herself, nor suffer any other power to do so. With peace she will soon effect her double object ; while war will but cement us, and prolong the existing order of things. Though of this, English statesmen are fully aware.

This latter view of such question leads me to speak in reprobation of the most unwise and unphilosophic policy sought and vainly attempted to be pursued, in reference to the Mormon settlements in Utah Territory. If necessary, I could adduce the teachings and testimony of Christ and his apostles in opposition to this insane crusade, and continued cry for the strong arm of government to put down the hierarchal sway of prophet Young and company—disband their followers, and thus make an end of the latter day saints faith. But my sole appeal will be to the common sense of mankind and lessons in history. If Mormonism be so greatly wrong as represented (and I shall gainsay naught that’s alleged against its votaries,) let it alone, and the evil will soon cure itself, since it must contain internal, its own seeds of

decay and dissolution. But wage a war of compulsion or extermination against this sect, and you strengthen it. The cry of persecution will be raised, which not only will quiet their internecine discords, and harmoniously unite them, but create sympathy outside of their ranks to sustain their cause.

And wherefore this terrible howl in opposition to Mormon iniquity—this indignant denunciation of the social relations and internal policy of a people, sojourning far away in the wilderness of deserts, detached from all else, and therefore not likely to taint by contact, the saintly purity of the rest of our population? I will tell you why. It arises from three causes. First an inherent love of power in the human breast, and ever itching desire to be making war on somebody. Secondly, that Yankee-like inquisitorial spirit, and prying interference with other people's business. And thirdly, most of these purifying zealots, and advocates of a foray into Mormondom, are prompted by a consciousness of self-wickedness, which seeks a salvo, and also to draw off the world's attention from themselves, and find some scapegoat, upon whose back they can saddle sins of which they are equally as guilty. At least this latter charge I can bring to the door of those virtuoso editors and others in California—who are well aware, that vice and immorality of whatever species, cannot be worse nor more prevalent in Salt Lake City than in San Francisco. In fact, I question not but the purity of morals in Deseret will compare quite favorably with this State generally.

So far as the Mormon religion goes, I think it the most orthodox of all Bible, or so-called christian creeds, now extant. At the same time reprobate as much as any, their polygamous wifery, which is contrary to nature's edicts, and which my old cotemporaneous Roman prototypes, in opposition to Judaical customs—those of Jehovah's chosen favorites, so taught mankind by precept and example, and by law enforced. Strange indeed to hear sticklers about State and Territorial rights in any part of our confederacy, and especially those in this country, who last year so strongly deprecated intervention on the part of the General Government, in the Vigilance revolutionary movement—now advocating an army being sent to make war on the inhabitants of Utah.

Return we again to these occidental shores—to our own adopted home, where there is loud demanded need for all the superabundant charity and spirit of reform, these intermeddlers in foreign parts, Boor-aboola Gha philanthropists, proselyting missionaries, and also that

which all others who are well wishers of the country, can bestow upon it.

Ambrosial breezes fan our hesperian plains, as balmy and odoriferous as far famed spicy gales, wafted o'er oriental lands. Not fair Italia, nor Araby the blessed, can boast superiority to this gorgeous and resplendent sun-clime. Nor do the rich deltas of the Ganges, Nile, Po or Mississippi, surpass our soil in fertility. Waiving all inclusion of that blighting, mill-dewing curse, to this beautiful land—its emboweled golden treasure, which existence I can compare to naught else than the tree of evil planted in the garden of Paradise; and discovery of which, was either a project of the Devil or his sister Pandora—never did nature bestow upon a spot of this earth such bountiful blessings, as here naturally exist, and are capable of being produced and enjoyed by man.

Flora, Ceres and Pomona, have striven to outvie each other in their gifts. Flowers of every sort and hue as brightly bloom, as if in Eden's garden. High above the forest giants of other countries, tower our lordly mountain pines, and wider branch the hoary oaks of the valley; whilst ornamental trees of every variety to please the eye and shade afford from the noonday's burning rays, are seen, with healthiest verdure, within the precincts of this city. And while many fruits of tropic growth find with us congenial earth and air; those of all other kinds, and every species of grain and grass, and useful vegetable product, which are indigenous to the various soils and climates of the encircling temperate zone—in California most luxuriantly flourish. It is the land above all others for the production of silks and wines. Here grow the orange and apple, peach, pomegranate and grape—the quince, lemon, almond, figs, olives, pears, plums, cherries, and shrub and vine-producing fruits and berries of all kinds. Likewise may be raised, with much perfection, those three great staples, cotton, rice and sugar. Here too, the most nutritious of grains and herbage, and a mild, equable, though bracing, healthy, fruitful and vitalizing atmosphere, present proof of this country's peculiar adaptation for propagating almost all manner of mammalia.

Already the brute portion are most rapidly improving in breed. Man alone is not progressing, nor yet contented amid all these advantages and ministering delights. And wherefore this? Because here so deeply sin-inoculated, by reason of his haste to grow rich, his eager, restless, impatient longings and unscrupulous means used to obtain money—his abandonment of all high sense of honor, cultivation of

virtue and intellect, and sinking himself down to a mere animal aspiration and indulgement of a depraved sensual appetite—he is induced to forsake the true paths to happiness, abandon his high destiny, and contaminate and turn to bitterness, all things he touches.

Hither lured by a promised glittering prize, flocked hordes of adventurers from every coast. No fears of death, privations and toil, nor dread of dragons, deterred them in their search. Landing on our once happy shores—Eureka! was the exultant cry of all. But a change has come over the spirit of your dreams, and loud now are your lamentations of pain and disappointment. For instead of gathering the golden fruit of the Hesperides, you have grasped but Dead Sea apples—beautiful without and enchanting to gaze upon in the distance, but all rottenness and ashes within.

Conscious long since of their dark impurity, and the great necessity for regeneration and reform in our social, political and business relations, the cry was raised—let's build churches and bring out the gentler sex, in order to moralize and refine us—the absence of these is what makes us so bad. Well, in time came both, but of what avail—are we better grown? Has the joint mission of religion and women been successful in staying the leprous tide of corruption flooding and percolating throughout society? Far, far from it, as my too sad and truthful portrayal of the condition of affairs examples.

The sanctuary is desecrated by a set of sham worshippers, who, after swindling and defrauding their neighbors six days during the week, vainly hope on the seventh, through empty forms and ceremonies, by cold lip service adoration, and paying indulgence money to their pastors*—to deceive that God, to whom they ignorantly pray and render hypocritical homage. Whilst instead of suffering the other sex to elevate, chasten and better them, they defile and drag her down, so far as possible, to their own sunken condition.

Woman! I appeal to you for aid, I call upon you to do your duty. You have most at stake. The idea entertained by many, that your sex can remain chaste and pure while men are so depraved, is fallacious. The sexes mutually influence, act and react each upon the other. Yet amid the prostration of virtue and wreck of character,

*Witness the apologetic sermons of these pastors, who for a goodly salary, will, and do palliate the worst evils of our society, and therefore encourage and increase, instead of helping to eradicate the wickedness of the land. Thus did not preach Christ—(see a discourse of the Rev. Mr. Benton, since delivered from the same pulpit this oration was. The public can decide in which the more truth was told about the condition of affairs in California.)

yours is last to become contaminated. Your finer organism, more delicate appreciation of the true and beautiful, and higher admiration of what is good and noble, makes you superior and better than man. To preserve this superiority—to hold intact these loftier and distinguishing attributes of your sex, a corresponding characteristic must be preserved in man. Your high perfection and potential sway, comes from your delicacy of feeling and gentleness of manner; and these have their birth, education, and preservation in the great principle of love.

All women have naturally an exalted opinion of honor and manly spirit, and bestow their admiration and heart's best affections only on those of the other sex, whom they esteem brave, generous and truthful. Let it once be believed by you, that your fathers, husbands, brothers and lovers are no longer governed by honorable sentiments—then farewell soon after to your own fair fame. Down from that high estate a true woman should occupy will you fall. For having no object to admire—none upon whom to place your love—your hearts will soon grow cold—the fountains of your affections become dry; and from that lofty position once held, you lapse to be the mere instrument of man's lust, and serve him as a toy and menial, or else, if of a masculine turn—"strong minded" enough, and too proud and independent to occupy such a relation to these degenerate lords of creation—you may assert your equality with him—as some have already done in a certain quarter of our country, where these causes do exist, which have very naturally and properly driven them to unsex themselves.

The first wish of your natures—the innate paramount desire of your whole sex, is to be lovely and beloved. In the adornments of dress, woman has it much in her power to afford an outward exhibition of a refined and cultivated taste. Such a manifestation is legitimate, except where she goes beyond the income of her proper provider, and permits a too great fondness for rich and costly apparel, to run her into *dangerous* extravagance. But it is in beautifying the face, in rendering more attractive that index of the mind, where so many of you mistake the true secret of embellishment. Not in carmine coloring nor powder of pearl does it lie, nor yet in that far preferable mode of rosy-ing the cheeks and lilying the skin—healthful exercise and correct habits; but by imbathing the heart in virtue's holy water, to lave away its every stain and blemish—in blanching the soul of all impurities, and painting it in the mellow tints of truth, modesty and amiability,

and gentleness. These, which are fadeless even in old age, will mirror forth in the countenance—in the sweet expressive mellifluous whispering lips, but more so in those soft-speaking, love-illumed window orbs, through which shine the magnetic rays of the heart, the spiritual essence of the soul—the genuine emotions that rest within.

There can be no external beauty in woman, nothing loveable about her, for man to look upon—to engage and *hold* his affections, unless a corresponding beauty of character dwelleth interior.

Would you preserve unpolluted and perennial this sacred well-spring of the affections—this only source of all real beauty—would you be the wives of men you can look up to, and love and honor, and be the mothers of sons and daughters you shall be proud to own, and fear never to trust them to go through life's temptations, untainted with crime, and like the mother of the Grachii, exhibit such as your most inestimable jewels—then do I implore you by all that's holy and true, by all of good you can hope for in this life and the one to come, for sake of yourselves and those you hold most dear—to engage at once in this task of reforming our most corrupt, gross and impure society.

The world abroad already terms us a grand congregation of knaves, and judging from our acts and the exhibit we make, the world is justifiable in so thinking and declaring. If the great mass of men in California are tempted to become rogues, the women here, will as a natural consequence turn out—what the consorts of their sex with rogues always are.

'Tis said that women, not men, rule the world; but in no country have such sway as in our own American land. California has formed no exception to this—few comparatively of your sex are here. But you my chaste sisters, have thus far had but little share in the government. The fallen ones, so termed, have usurped your prerogatives, wielded the sceptre of power, and occupied a much more influential position. Queens instead of Queens, gamblers and their lemans have been crowned rulers over us all.

We have no honorable public sentiment in California, no sound popular opinion, no outward incentives or rewards to do good, no safeguards nor fostering protection thrown around truth and right—in fact there is no elevated, high-toned society at all—and the women are much to blame for this. You have felt and known the great necessity of reform, yet striven not to achieve it. For there is about you, of finer feelings and genuine womanhood, a delicacy of sentiment, a love of home quiet and home virtues, which causes the unrest, turmoil,

excitements, grossness and depravity of California society, to be anything but agreeable to you. It has little charm. You are dissatisfied at heart, disguise it as you may, and long for a return to the happier scenes of your old abodes. But the most of you will never go back, therefore resolve at once to bring all your energies and influence to bear upon the great work of making your new-found residence correspond so far as possible, with that you have left behind, or even better it.

But my fair countrywomen, this work of regeneration, this reform movement on your part, must early be commenced. Dark is now the night that glooms over us—portentous the coming storm; yet hope whispers me, we approach an effulgent morn; but blacker still must grow the sombre shades ere break of day shall come. The demoralization of society in California still goes rapidly on, and even with increased impetus. Would you stay its progress—save yourselves and others, those whom you wish to love and be loved by in return—then quickly up and be doing. Widely different and more discriminating must be your intercourse with men. Your parlors and home circles must be kept unpolluted by the company of those notoriously known to be dishonorable, unmanly and mean. If in the heterogeneously mixed, vulgar, immoral and lowered tone of public sentiment, your male relatives should think themselves bound to, or thoughtlessly, or ignorantly introduce such to your acquaintance, take the responsibility of ignoring it so soon as possible, and thus drive them from your presence. If truthful and pure minded yourselves, you can with rare exceptions, always tell whom thus to treat and who not. You may learn much of truth about your visitor, if discriminating in judgment, from general reputation—but much more safely trust to your own instinctive perceptions and physiognomical readings, after you shall have seen the face, person and manners of the man, and listened to his conversation.

And on you, mothers, devolves especially another important duty—the early rearing of your offspring—the implantment, or rather fostering in youthful breasts of those sentiments of honor, which are to make the good and useful citizen. Early train your sons and daughters in virtue's ways; for upon them will rest in a few short years, the duties of state and society. It is terrible to think of the education the rising generation is now receiving in California. It promises a dire future. "Tell me," said Edmund Burke, the great English orator and statesman, "What are the sentiments that occupy the minds of

your young men, and I will tell you what is to be the character of the next generation." Look at our young men in this State, (and unfortunately for the country, there are hardly any else than young men in it, and they most all disposed to set at naught the counsels of what few elders are here) of reckless, dissipated, spendthrift habits, many, or most of them—others eagerly seeking after and laying up gold with miser-like covetousness—with moral perceptions blunted, no high and noble aspirations, no cultivation of their minds, their whole natures, material and selfish, tastes depraved and all the finer qualities of character, generous sentiment and refined sensibility scouted at—what, I would ask, is society and government to be a few years hence, unless the present poisoning influences be early suppressed, and a wide departure from the existing course of action taken.

In connection with this subject, there is a matter of deep importance, to which, on the present occasion, I would make slight allusion. I approach it with some delicacy, since it requires as much boldness to assail, false as the institution is, as to attack the religion of a people wedded to their faith. Nevertheless, a firm conviction of the truth I shall utter regarding it, impels me to the task of duty. I refer to the much boasted public school system—a plan of education deeply wrong in principle, and one of the chief causes sapping the virtuous supports of society, and hastening the subversion of the State.

Intellectual attainments, book learning, are not alone necessary to make the good citizen. There is a parental teaching, and more especially maternal, which is indispensable. It is the heart culture, the instillation of sentiments of honor and truth, of the feelings of love and affection.

Does not this common school system tend to destroy that mutual sympathy and dependence between the parent and child—to cause the one to withdraw his solicitude and watchful care over the advancement and well being of his son, while it induces the latter to lose that due respect for, and dependence on his parents, and makes him look to the State as his guardian and educational provider. And does not this disturb that beautiful system of home government, and make innovations upon its sacred relations. Does it not tend to increase that already pernicious influence in our land, worse than in any other country on the globe, of boys disregarding the authority of their fathers, or advice of elders and mentors, and assuming a precocious manhood—which causes them to lose respect for grey hairs, and no longer revere old age.

Another serious objection to these schools, and their public *theatrical* exhibitions,* especially in this gross and bestial society of ours—is the tendency to destroy all modesty and delicate sensibility in girls—to afford opportunity for improper conduct, and thus remove all those safeguards, which even in a purer land, are thought necessary to hedge round the chastity of woman. Moreover I oppose this educational plan, especially in the United States, because the fund supporting it, selection of teachers, and whole conduction of the institution, is in the hands of the party political machinery of the country; when, of course, like other offices, the greatest asses and most venal demagogues in the land will have the supervision and control of this sacred trust.

And lastly, I deprecate this most appropriately termed *common* school system, because it is another and powerful appliance to haul down everything to a common vulgarizing level.†

And now, in conclusion, fellow-citizens, let me ask of you to seriously ponder over the important suggestions I have this day presented. Let me invoke you to arouse yourselves from this dangerous lethargy, and also mistaken idea about the great evils afflicting our society, being cured without some active new measures and strong remedial applications. Let me call on you who wish for better times, to come forth from the stagnant putrid pool, and the slough of despond, and cleanse your brains and hearts, by determining this day to inaugurate

*Per example—a recent performance at the Forest Theatre in this place, which, though an entertaining exhibition, was calculated to give much pain to those who looked deeper than the surface, upon such a departure from propriety. And who think you, reader, were the parents of these young lady amateur actresses on that stage, and other getters up of the affair—in a play-house, open at a dollar a head, to every frequenter of such? why none else—at least a portion—than those sanctimonious saints from Boston and adjacent demesnes, who back in their own native land not long since, thought it a heinous sin for even themselves to cross the threshold of a Thespian temple.

Thus do a people, unguided by sound reason and a pure enlightened code of morality, run from one false extreme to another.

†Since this address was delivered, I have read an article in the June number of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, under the heading of "Public Benefactions," in which the author strongly maintains some of these views about education, yet seems fearful of coming out boldly to assail the common schools. In the same article is found the following truthful extract from some recent writings of Mr. Rowland G. Hazard, of Boston; who, likewise, most inconsistently sustains the public school system,—doubtless also prevented by moral cowardice, from questioning the beauty and perfection of this, New England's greatest pet:

"Governments should interfere as little as possible, with the sphere of individual duty. Every encroachment upon this, takes from the citizen opportunities for cultivating their virtue by practical exercise. Let all the charities of life be dispensed, and all noble enterprises be prosecuted by the State, and you destroy private benevolence and public spirit. The individual, dwarfed and shriveled, from want of that practical exercise of virtue which strengthens and liberalizes his nature, grudgingly pays what the laws exacts of him, without thought of its application. He neither know nor cares whether it is used to found a college, or erect a gallows."



a new era for California, in declaring our independence of the impoverishing and soul-destroying rule under which we have so long suffered. Let us, for the sake of this holy cause, resolve—like our revolutionary ancestors—to shake from our shoulders a burthen and bondage, far more oppressive, ignominious and debasing, than that from which they freed themselves. Be no longer deceived by this modern, newfangled, false and illusory cry about liberty and equality. Learn at once, that there can be as gross wrongs practiced, and as grinding a despotism established in a Republic, as in an absolute monarchy, or any other sort of government. And learn likewise, another great, though startling truth, which all history attests, that through a physical revolution alone lies the road to rectify such a condition of affairs as now exists in California.

Even as myself would I have you act; unshackle and sever yourselves from all political, party and personal ties and allegiance, and advocate boldly and independently, the cause of truth, and your country's best interest, accordingly as your honest convictions shall dictate.

Excelsior! I cry to you. Be men—be freemen and patriots, as I know you none can, so long as you permit yourselves to be made mere puppets, manikins, to be moved at the will of artful, scheming, political blacklegs; since what matters it which of these shall win the game, as, in any result, yourself and country must lose.

For a time I stooped from my present proud and elevated position, to battle for the truth, in, with and against party. But instead of conquering, my cause has thus far been most badly defeated. Yet it has not been time nor labor altogether lost, for I have proved to my satisfaction, that all such efforts are fruitless, hopeless, in vain, until radical, organic changes be first effected. And you, too, in time will all find this out.

O! that glorious freedom,—that new found paradisacal existence on earth, in which revel the pure hearted, after passing through many trials and temptations,—unlearning the false teachings of their previous years, and, with nerve sufficient, determining to do and dare all things a clear head and clean conscience shall decree is right and proper. As sons of light and the elect of highest heaven, they shout for joy, and alone may boast of being truly free. Aye, free as the lark that mounts to meet, with carol sweet, the dawning beams of morn!—free as the eagle which soars aloft to lave its wings in the ether of our upper air, and scream forth his notes of liberty!—free as the swift-footed Ante-

lope, which unconfined, bounds fleetly away over our wide, extended, interior plains ! For then, with actions untrammelled, and uncontrolled, save by one's own independent, properly restrained will ; with mind, and tongue, and pen, released from the abject, soul-cramping servitude to which an ignorant, bigoted and impure society compels so many to bow, and bend, and smother their heaven born thoughts—the impatient, imprisoned and struggling spirit, will rise from its hitherto chained and forced to be groveling position, and on the wings of love and hope, fly through all space, to seek and hold communion with that mighty Deific principle, which pervading all matter, creates all life, and through study of, and commingling our souls with which, the reasoning, thinking mind in its longings for immortality, can alone be made satisfied, that in accordance with the immutable law of progression, purification and growth towards perfection, the spiritual man will yet live, after his earthy encasement shall have mouldered back and mingled again with its mother element.

This was the religion of the great master spirits who planned and achieved the American Revolution and Independence. 'Twas the reason, faith, of a Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Marshall, Madison, Paine, Franklin, Adams and Henry. It is the religion of nature, revealed through her harmonial laws and beneficent manifestations, and taught convincingly by analagous correspondence and inductive process to the higher faculties of mind. It was the religion of Christ. It is the religion of God, because God itself—the sole revelation of things divine earth's mortals have, or ever will receive, and accordingly as man's heart becomes impressed and filled with it, does he see and *feel* truth, and enunciate such to his fellows.

It was this order of religion which gave wisdom to the minds, and imbued with such stern principles of integrity, incorruptible patriotism, unyielding spirits and indomitable wills, these heroes and demi-gods of that revolutionary era, whom we, their descendants, should apotheosize and in a mind-built Pantheon, erect altars and statues, where by rendering them divine honors, we may learn to imitate their examples and emulate their virtues.

*Papers by the last mail, received since this oration was spoken, bring news of a law lately introduced into and which will doubtless pass the New Hampshire Legislature, nullifying this decision of the Supreme Court,—placing all colors and conditions of men in that State on a perfect equality in rights, and claiming for such the same citizen privileges in all the rest of the States.



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